

Borneo OC1
 Toradja OG11
 Bali OF7
 Gorontalo OG4
 Makassar OG6

Br
 765 [176 cont.]
 776

775 The whole festival ends in a meal, during which the elders
 782 present drink palm wine, so they believe, with the souls in the
 Br realm of the dead. Today, tiwah festivals are celebrated only
 [177] for prominent people; they are very expensive. The souls of
 554 ordinary people continue to roam around the earth.

T No less important, especially in former times, were the
 765 great festivals among the Toradja; at one time these lasted for.
 775 seven days and cost the lives of a great number of buffaloes.
 The purpose of the festival is the accompaniment of the souls to
 the land of souls by the priestesses, who then relate their experi-
 ences during the journey in long litanies.

81 The great cremation ceremonies, which are carried out with
 [765] much pomp and pageantry on Bali, are probably the same in
 origin and significance [177] as the great festivals celebrated
 elsewhere, although the form of the ceremony has been strongly
 influenced by Hinduism.

I The experiences of the soul on its journey are very much like
 775 those of someone who has to undertake a difficult expedition.
 Above all, entry into the land of souls is not made easy. The
 ideas concerning the obstacles the soul has to overcome, espe-
 cially at the entrance, are closely connected with the mental
 make-up of the different peoples.

T Among the Toradja a pig stands at the entrance and attempts
 775 to bite those who wish to enter. For this reason, a hard object
 764 is put in with the body of a child so that he can give it to the pig.
 776 While the animal is gnawing it, the soul of the child slips through.
 183 Sometimes it is the watchman of Hades, called Langkoda, who
 questions the souls. He does not admit unmarried persons and
 those who have never been unchaste or have never killed anyone.

G Among the Dajak it is Koekang, who is also against the
 8 chaste. Among the Minahasa, the watchman of heaven is
 775 Makawalang. He treats the souls of the rich with pork; he
 776 drives back the souls of the poor.

M Among the Makassarese the souls are questioned as to how
 775 they have observed the obligations to Islam.
 776

2: Wilken--238 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893

OB1 Indonesia OB1

Ma	Batak	OD5	Malaccas	OH1
c	Java	OE1	Ceram	OH9
8E	Malays	ANS	Buru	OH8
Br	Bali	OFY	Gorontalo	OG6
G			Borneo	OC1
Iu	[200 cont.] Makassar	OG6		

805 (about one hour), etc. To indicate very short lengths of time, one speaks of the duration of a betel quid, about a quarter of an hour. These expressions are still used even on Java and among

J the Malays. The latter say sakapur sirih lamanja = the duration
 M1 of a betel quid, and the former say sapanginang, which means
 [805] about the same thing.

[201]

Chapter 9. Family Life.

a. Birth; b. Twins; c. Abortion;
 d. Naming; e Bathing.

a. Birth

I In the first place, we want to examine the principal cus-
 842 toms at birth.
 562

In general, the native values the possession of children very highly, even to such extent that among many peoples a childless marriage is grounds for divorce. There is nothing more terrible for a married woman than to remain childless. She can be sure that her husband will despise her and her sisters will ridicule her. "Eh! indona = oh, mother of itself," says the Buginese (1), and the Batak (2) and the Balinese (3) are no less

1. Matthes, Boegineesch Wrdb., see
ind6.

2. Van der Tuuk, Bataksch Wrdb., see
ambala.

3. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T. L. Vk.,
 Vol. XVIII, p. 387.

considerate in this respect. Moreover, the childless woman has

2: Wilken--239 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
 Makassar 066 ●
 Bali OF7
 Batak OD5
 Garontolo 064
 Borneo OC1

BT
 842 [201 cont.]

M to fear a number of horrors in the hereafter; indeed some peoples
 842 of the archipelago believe that in hell she must feed a snake at
 562 her breast for punishment.

● 715 In general a son is desired more than a daughter as the
 first-born, but after that daughters are desired, in particular be-
 cause of their value in connection with [202] bride price. The
 G Alfoer of northern Celebes expresses this very characteristically:
 842 "only girls bring in money" (1).

1. Graafland, De Minahassa, Vol. I,
 p. 301.

BT
 842 Infertility is therefore regrettable and is generally ascribed
 776 to evil spirits. All kinds of charms and offerings are used to try
 715 to render their influence innocuous. Even during pregnancy, how-
 ever, the woman still has to fear the snares of the evil demons.
 She therefore zealously gives offerings to them, who bear such
 names as djata (2) among the Dajak [Dyak], langolan among

2. Hardeland, Dajaksch-Deutsches
Wörterbuch, see bararamin.

the Batak, etc. Standing above all of them, however, are the
pontianak, the spirits of women who died in childbirth. All the
 women who have met this fate are pontianak without exception.
 They are usually imagined as naked and as having the shape of
 birds, thus, as flying ghosts. Driven by envy, they always and
 at all times seek to take away from their sisters the joy that they
 themselves have been deprived of. Various means, primarily
 offerings, are used to ward off their influence. As well as on the
 pregnant women, these ghosts also have designs on the men as
 the beings who can give the joy of motherhood to the women, and
 particularly on their genitals (3).

3. Wilken, Het Animisme bij de Volken

2: Wilken--240 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OBI Indonesia OBI

Macassar 066 ●

Timor 0F20

Batak 0P5

Borneo 0C1

Land Dyak 0C8

Ambon 0H4

[202 cont.]

v.d. Ind. Archipel [Animism among the peoples of the Malay Archipelago], Vol. II, p. 196.

The belief in the pontianak is general throughout the archipelago, among the Mohammedans and Christians, as well as among the pagans. Evidence of this is the name of the capital of Borneo's western division, Pontianak, built, as is known, on an island. According to the natives, before the town was built the island was inhabited by pontianak who were driven off by gunfire, but their name was given to the town (4).

4. Veth, Borneo's Westerafdeeling, Vol. I, p. 13.

We have just said that all women who die before their confinement are changed into pontianak. Some peoples try to prevent this, for example, the Ambonese, who treat the corpses in a special way. [203] When the body is put in the coffin the arms and legs are pricked with pins, and three eggs are put under the chin and both arms. The hair is wound around a nail driven into the coffin, and the whole corpse is covered with pieces of fish bones (1). Something similar is done among the Makassarese (1)

1. Ludeking, Schets v.d. res. Amboina [Sketch of the Ambon Residency], p. 166.
Matthes, Bijdrage t. d. Ethnologie v. Z. Celebes, p. 97.

In order to protect themselves from the influence of pontianak, pregnant women sometimes carry a knife, as on Timor (2), or then again other objects (3).

2. Veth, Timor, p. 42.

3. Riedel, de Kroes- en sluikharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua [The Curley and Straight-haired Races between Celebes and Papua], see Index under zwangerschap [pregnancy].

2: Wilken--601 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Matassar 066 ● *Gorontalo* 064
Batak 065 *Ambon* 064
Ceram 064
Javanese 065
Malays AN5

G [552 cont.]

755 patient was not cured, it was a sign that the soul had not been
 774 found. Among the Ambonese Islanders, the Alfoer of Ceram,
 A etc., there is the idea that sickness is caused by the departure of
 C the soul, which is prevented from returning by an evil spirit.
 753

J Here, too, the assistance of a priest is required for a cure. A
 MI survival of this view is found even among the more highly de-
 MK veloped Javanese, Malays, Buginese, and Makassarese.

753 The Javanese, like the Malays, call the soul sumangat, the
 J Makassarese and Buginese sumangá and sumangá, words that are
 MI identical with the Batak sumangot, the spirit of a deceased blood-
 MK relative.
 Bt

774 The sumangat is someone's life-spirit, which, according
 775 to the conception of the natives, leaves the body not only at
 753 death, but also in case of fright or a faint, and good health is
 755 achieved only through its presence. If the soul goes away, one
 becomes sick, and it must be called back by a priest. This is
 8+ done among the Batak by having someone scatter rice on the head.
 [829] The sumangat can also pass into another human being or into an
 animal, which creates such a secret relationship between the two
 that the fate of the one becomes entirely dependent on that of
 the other.

I The above shows how general animism is in the archipelago.
 771 We have seen how fetishism and spiritism, the religion of primi-
 774 tive peoples, developed directly from it. In general among the
 peoples of the Malayan Archipelago we find spiritism as the re-
 ligion more than animism. It must be recognized, however, that,
 although the former is to be distinguished from the latter, [553]
 they cannot always be separated, in other words, spiritism and
 fetishism often blend into each other, and one cannot tell where
 the one stops and the other begins. As we have noted, for ex-
 ample, the Batak believes that all objects, living as well as in-
 774 animate, have a soul. Thus, rice has a soul, the rice-soul,
 782 tondi-ni-erne. As soon as the rice starts to bloom, an offering
 776 is made to its soul; otherwise one would run the risk of angering
 it, because the soul of the rice can become angry. If that should

[635 cont.]

776 A consequence of the latter is that the belief in good and evil spirits is also found among the Buginese and Makassarese. They are referred to by a few general designations that were adopted in former times from the Hindu-Javanese. Generally speaking, the tutelary spirits are called rewata in Makassarese, dewata in Buginese, the Hindu-Javanese dewata, the Sanskrit devâta. Another category is called sangiyang, the well-known Hindu-Javanese sanghjang. Among them Sangiyang Sarri, the same as Dewi Sri, deserves special mention. She is the spirit of the rice and is identified with it.

At the head of the spirits stands Batara Goeroe = Siva, often simply called Batara, who, as the name indicates, is likewise of Hindu-Javanese origin.

754 Among the evil spirits--popokang among the Makassarese, pappo among the Buginese--a primary role is played by those whose heads wander around at night while the trunk remains in bed. Here they are always women. If there is a woman at court who is thought to be a popokang, she is immediately made a slave and sentenced to pound kemiri continuously as a means of preventing her from going out at night and doing harm. Besides these, there are the pontijana, the spirit of women who died in childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, an egg is put under each of her armpits, her hands are pressed tightly against the body, and some needles are stuck inside her clothing.

766
775
754
845 We shall not discuss the other spirits, because they were already mentioned in the general sketch.

769 [696] The worship of the souls of the deceased deserves
775 special consideration since the sanctity of the crocodiles, which
825 is found in many places on southern Celebes, is connected with
782 it. It is believed that the souls reside in these animals after
824 death. In the eastern districts, in Boeloekoempa, eels are regarded in the same way. Like the crocodiles, at the sound of metal cymbals, they come on land and feast on the chicken-drumsticks that are given to them, especially by women who
782
776 yearn for the joys of motherhood. The most peculiar worship on

- 342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house
of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying
"Toekan Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a
space underneath the house. The house is set along the road
on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood,
topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that
this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors
from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but
this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was
according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not
764 pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
513 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk
think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather
spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the
plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in
each house.
- 272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has
done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and
census of the village by houses.
- 632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs
proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
625 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs
there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong.
Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police,
two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one
of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi
(which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are
five kepala kampongs under the karaeng. These in order of
size are: Djongaya with five kampongs. Karawisi (proper)
with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs,
Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kam-
pongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all,
under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they
said, were ranked according to the size of their respective
kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]
- 368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There
is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

T

* 775
184

/471 cont./

first pay their respects to the Chief. Here all the souls wear yellow clothes. They do no work of any kind, for they obtain what they need by practicing magic (moadi). In the same way that the air spirits (woerake) provide for their needs. Only their water must be hauled up from Rato-ngkasimpo by means of a long rope, for there is no water in Wawo-maborosi because the city lies on a mountain.

* T
775

In the general popular version there exists only Rato-ngkasimpo, where a great bustle prevails because there are many death-souls together there. A feast is celebrated daily because every new arrival is welcomed festively. The children there play all day long. The paths run in all directions because of the busy traffic. This is sung about in the following verse:

* T
775
533
539

Ire'i podo pe'onto, ri Torate lipoe doro: "Here (on earth) it is only a stopping place, but in the Underworld it is a busy (lively) city"; ire'i podo pombale, ri Torate lipoe bangke, "here (on earth) it is only a shaded resting place, in the Underworld it is a large city."

/472/ In general, existence in the Hereafter is called gloomy and dismal; but yet people say that the souls are happy and satisfied there and do not know trouble and grief. This is expressed in a generally known song:

Mapari ri wawo ntana, ri Torate moroeana: "On earth one has a difficult life, in the Underworld it is better";

bemo re'e soesa ndaja, sambela mawongko raja. "there one does not know grief and one enjoys nothing but pleasure."

M
797
• 775
* T
775
797

In the Wotoe region, where some Toradja have been converted to Mohammedanism, we heard of a dispute between a Heathen and a Mohammedan on the question of where it would be prettier: in Torate, the heaven of the Heathens, or in Soeroega, the Mohammedan place of the blessed. They finally decided to kill each other in order to go to satisfy themselves. Then they stabbed each other to death. When the Chief heard what had given rise to the quarrel, he said: "We shall bury the one who pleaded for Soeroega. We shall let the corpse of the one who claimed that it is prettiest in Torate lie unburied. If the corpse of the first has disappeared by tomorrow,

M

797

• 775

T

* 775

797

T

* 775

241

/472 cont./

Soeroega is better than Torate; if the corpse of the other one has disappeared, then Torate is the best." When the people went to look the next day, the corpse of the Heathen had disappeared, and that of the Mohammedan was full of worms. This convinced the people of the superiority of Heathendom over Mohammedanism.

In Torate the souls keep busy with the same activities as here on earth: one hunts and plants fields. This is also done by the death-souls that do not go to the Underworld, but stay on earth. When people come to a spot where a few trees have fallen, they say: "There angga have planted a field." The rice in Torate, however, is different from that on earth; it resembles the fruits of the tarinti, a reed-like plant with rough leaves like sugar cane. Other crops, such as pisang and sugar cane, are like those of human beings. It is also claimed, however, that the rice in Rato-ngkasimpo only rarely thrives because of the many buffaloes which the relatives give to a dead person to take along; these animals often ruin the plantings, so that the inhabitants of Rato-ngkasimpo usually suffer from want. This, however, benefits the human beings, for if the rice in the Underworld were to thrive, that on earth would fail. For this reason the living must diligently continue to bring food to the graves for the dead; for if the dead are hungry they take the rice soul (tanoana mpae) from the human beings and then it requires much effort to get it back again. At the harvest feast (mompadoengkoe) the leader customarily covers a pile of rice with an old-fashioned cloth (bana) and calls back the rice soul: "O rice soul that is lost on the way to Rato-ngkasimpo, come back to me again." Any negligence in the performance of the rites in connection with rice cultivation might have as a consequence that the rice soul would go to Rato-ngkasimpo.

T
[769]

T
[776]
[782]

T
* 775
262

/473/ An important point about which people are concerned is the food that the dead might consume. In the many stories of people who visit the Underworld it is said that the rice and the fish or the meat that the dead eat look like the rice and the fish on earth; but in reality their rice is nothing but earth, and their side-dishes rotten wood. It often happens in the stories that living persons who visit their deceased relatives in the Underworld are given, upon their